

Message Text

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TO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 107498

EXDIS TOSEC 919

FOLLOWING TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO BONN, BRUSSELS,
COPENHAGEN, THE HAGUE, LONDON, MOSCOW, PARIS, ROME, NATO,
FROM GENEVA MAY 22:

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3226

EXDIS

NOFORN

DEPARTMENT PASS TO THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

EO 11652 GDS

TAGS PFOR

SUBJ CSCE: PROPOSED EC-NINE DEMARCHE TO
SOVIETS ON POSSIBLE ADJOURNMENT OF PHASE II

REF GENEVA 3155

1. EC-NINE DELEGATION HEADS HERE ARE IN PROCESS OF
DRAFTING REPORT TO POLITICAL DIRECTORS, FOR CONSIDERATION
AT EC-NINE POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING IN BONN MAY 27-28.

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SOVIET INTRASIGENCE OVER PAST WEEKS HAS LED NINE DELEGATIONS

TO A DEEPLY PESSIMISTIC APPRAISAL OF THE CURRENT STATE
OF CSCE NEGOTIATIONS.

2. WE NOW UNDERSTAND NINE DELEGATION HEADS MAY RECOMMEND
TO POLITICAL DIRECTORS THAT THEY BE AUTHORIZED TO MAKE
JOINT DEMARCHE TO SOVIETS, INDICATING THAT UNLESS PROGRESS
CAN BE MADE SOON ON BASKET III AND MILITARY SUBJECTS THE
NINE WOULD BE PREPARED SIMPLY TO ADJOURN CSCE PHASE TWO,
POSSIBLY IN JULY. THIS ADJOURNMENT COULD BE EITHER SINE
DIE, OR UNTIL SOME UNSPECIFIED TIME IN THE FUTURE.

3. WHILE THE NINE DELEGATION HEADS HAVE NOT YET PUT THEIR
IDEAS ON PAPER AND ARE STILL CONSIDERING A BROAD SPECTRUM
OF IDEAS ON PRESENTATION AND EMPHASIS, THEY APPEAR TO BE
UNANIMOUS IN FAVORING A STRONG DEMARCHE OF SOME KIND.

4. NON-NINE NATO DELEGATION HEADS HAVE VARYING VIEWS ON
WHAT KIND OF DEMARCHE SHOULD BE MADE TO THE SOVIETS AT
THIS TIME. THESE DELEGATIONS ALSO FEEL ANY STEPS TOWARD
ADJOURNMENT OF PHASE TWO WORK SHOULD BE CONSIDERED BY FULL
NATO GROUP, SINCE SUCH A MOVE WOULD HAVE BROAD IMPLICATIONS
FOR EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND DETENTE IN GENERAL. WE EXPECT
THIS SUBJECT TO BE RAISED IN MEETING OF NATO DELEGATION
HEADS ON MAY 24, AND NINE HAVE ALREABC INDICATED
INFORMALLY THAT THEY WOULD CONSIDER US SUPPORT FOR SUCH
AN INITIATIVE TO BE OF CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE.

5. SOVIETS IN PAST WEEKS HAVE STALLED PROGRESS IN ALL FOUR
SUBCOMMITTEES OF BASKET III BY HARDENING THEIR POSITIONS,
IN SOME CASES REFUSING TO ACCEPT WORDS AND IDEAS THEY HAVE
PREVIOUSLY FOUND BEARABLE, AND REFUSING TO MOVE ON BY
BRACKETING DIFFICULT TOPICS. OTHER EASTERN DELEGATIONS
PROFESS PUZZLEMENT AT SOVIET TACTICS AND WESTERN ANALYSES
VARY WIDELY. WE HAVE TOLD SOVIET DELEGATION THAT THE
CONFERENCE IS AT A CRUCIAL JUNCTURE, AND THAT SOME DEMON-
STRATION OF FLEXIBILITY ON BASKET III SPECIFICS WILL BE
REQUIRED NOW IF SOVIETS WISH TO MOVE TOWARD A THIRD
PHASE IN JULY, AS THEY INSIST THEY DO. WHILE UNDERLYING
SOVIET ATTITUDE IS NOT COMPLETELY CLEAR AT THIS TIME
(SEE REFTEL), WE ASSUME SOVIETS WOULD MAKE TOKEN GESTURES
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OF FLEXIBILITY TO DEFUSE THIS SORT OF DEMONSTRATION OF
DISCONTENT, AND THUS KEEP CSCE SIMMERING.

6. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, WE WOULD BE INCLINED TO TAKE
LINE IN CSCE NATO CAUCUS THAT WEIGHT OF WESTERN DISSATISFACTION
SHOULD BE MADE CLEAR TO SOVIETS, BUT IN SUCH A WAY THAT
THEY CAN REVISE THEIR POSITIONS WITHOUT FEELING THEMSELVES
UNDER PUBLIC PRESSURE TO DO SO. WEST SHOULD EXERCISE

PATIENCE ON BASKET III QUESTIONS, AND IN LIGHT OF WESTERN
POLITICAL CHANGES SHOULD BE PREPARED TO WAIT A REASONABLE
TIME FOR SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS TO FREER MOVEMENT PROBLEMS.
IN ADDITION, WE WOULD TRY TO ENSURE THAT WHATEVER
DEMARCHES ARE MADE DOES NOT TAKE THE FORM OF AN ULTIMATUM,
AND IS FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO FIT ANY POSSIBLE FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS.
IF DEPARTMENT WISHES US TO MAKE ANY ADDITIONAL POINTS AT
THIS TIME, WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE BY OPENING
OF BUSINESS MAY 24.

7. IN ADDITION, WE WOULD STRONGLY URGE THE DEPARTMENT
TO ENSURE THAT THE STRENGTH OF WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DIS-
SATISFACTION WITH RECENT SOVIET BEHAVIOR AT CSCE IS CONVEYED
TO THE SOVIETS WHENEVER WE HAVE HIGH LEVEL CONTACTS
WITH THEM. THE SOVIETS SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT EVEN THE
USEFULNESS OF A CONTINUATION OF CSCE PHASE TWO IS NOW
BEING QUESTIONED BY MANY WESTERN COUNTRIES. ABRAMS
UNQUOTE RUSH

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